

DEFENCE OF OPPOSITION

WITH RESPECT TO

THEIR CONDUCT

ON

IRISH AFFAIRS,

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

DEDICATED

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

C. J. FOX.

BY AN IRISH GENTLEMAN.

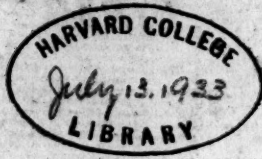
A MEMBER OF THE WHIG CLUB.

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American Antiquarian Society

TO THE
RIGHT HON. J. C. FOX.

SIR,

THE founding a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, upon the basis of mutual advantage, seems a measure so wise, and salutary in itself, and so promising in its consequences, as naturally to excite a more than ordinary share of the public attention.

The object has long had the warmest wishes of the best, and most exalted characters of both countries, and the most fervent prayers of every one not insensible of their welfare and happiness; and it is with inexpressible pleasure and satisfaction, they now behold it ripening, and nearly brought to a state of maturity, by the fostering hand of the present most excellent Minister, who, with his father's resplendent virtues, most happily blends the wisdom of age and experience.

A Measure, Sir, that will at once do away all those jealousies that have so long filled the breast of Ireland—that must for ever attach her to Great Britain—and make their interest one and the same, cannot but claim a very powerful support from the representatives of the people.

It

It is, therefore, with much surprize, the public hear, that you, and those you are in the habit of voting with, (including your *new* friends) intend to give it every opposition in your power.

The *consistency* of your conduct, in the line of politics, gives, at once, the flattest contradiction to so impudent and barefaced a calumny.

The following sheets, however, will effectually put the matter out of doubt, and do you ample justice.

They are the faithful extracts of various speeches delivered in Parliament by *you*, and *those* you have the honour to act with, and will be found to contain the strongest recommendations of the *very* measures, now under discussion, for establishing a fair and equal trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

You will please, therefore, to accept of them as the best, and most conclusive refutation of the charges brought against you, as from them, it is impossible, considering how very unlikely *you* are to be actuated by party views, that the minister can want *your* support and assistance.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most devoted humble servant,

A MEMBER OF THE WHIG CLUB.

ST. ALBAN'S TAVERN,

March 19, 1785.

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APPENDIX.

The COMMERCIAL RESOLUTIONS of the IRISH PARLIAMENT in their present Session VINDICATED. Page 41

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. SAWBRIDGE.

I Am against all monopolies of trade, and commercial interdictions; there is trade enough for every nation upon earth, *if all impolitic restrictions were repealed.* No nation, nor corporate body, nor individual, has a right to deprive another of the *benefits of manufactures, trade, and commerce.*

March 18, 1779*.

Mr. BURKE.

It is for the *interest* of Great Britain to throw open *even the woollen trade to Ireland*; and if it is not done now voluntarily, the French will soon oblige us to do it.

March 18, 1779.

B

Lord

The order of the day was for going into a committee on the importation of sugars into Ireland, which was left on a division, 62 to 58.

Lord BEAUCHAMP.

The language the noble Lord, (Earl of Hillsborough) used in the other House of the late ministers, (Lord North, &c.) clearly meant an equality of export and import duties, customs, &c. an equality of trade, and consequently of mutual advantage.

Nov. 30, 1779.

Earl of UPPER OSSORY.

As an Irishman, and bound to Ireland by the strongest ties of interest and affection, it might be fairly, and I will add, be truly presumed, that I entertain the most sincere wishes for her happiness and prosperity; nay, I will say, that as an Englishman, it is my duty to do so, because I am persuaded, *that whatever promotes the trade and commerce of Ireland, will ultimately promote that of Great Britain.*

Dec. 6, 1779.

Lord BEAUCHAMP.

That Ireland is in a distressed situation, no man within or without this House will, I dare say, venture to deny; but I can never be persuaded to think, that the miseries which Ireland feels, and under which she at present groans, can be fairly attributed to the present ministry, or indeed to any ministry within my remembrance. The grievance
has

has not originated, at least since the present reign, with any particular set of men in power, nor from any recent measures adopted in respect to that country. The causes are various, *but the prime source* of the distresses of that kingdom, *is the system of our trade laws*, which lay a restraint upon her commerce. I am convinced, that these restrictions arise from a very narrow, short-sighted policy, conceived in prejudice, and strengthened by time ; which, after more than a century, has been wrought, as it were, into the very constitution of this country.

For my own part, I think *the interest of both countries is inseparable*, as their political connexion is indissoluble, and whoever endeavours to obstruct either, *is no friend to his country*, that is, *he is ignorant of the true prosperity of both**.

Though enjoying a place under the Crown, my situation is not such, as to entitle me to know what passes in his Majesty's council ; but I have heard in conversation, that the noble Lord on the same bench, (Lord North) in concert with the rest of his Majesty's servants, have agreed upon propositions,

B 2

* As neither Lord North, Mr. Fox, nor Mr. Burke, can be thought *ignorant* of the true prosperity of both England and Ireland, according to Lord Beauchamp, neither of them *is a friend to his country* ; and they will hardly have the ill manners to contradict a noble Lord they so cordially act with.

positions, which are to be submitted to this house. I am ignorant of their purport ; but from what I heard fall from a noble Lord (Earl of Hillsborough) in the other house, the first day of the session ; to whom, both England, and Ireland, owe the highest obligations, it is supposed, *that Ireland will be granted an equal trade, or an equality of trade*, upon the broad basis, of impartiality and justice.

Dec. 6, 1779.

Mr. BURKE.

Ireland spurns at the British claim of dominion : she looks upon herself as *free and independent*, and is firmly determined to maintain it. The American war originated in injustice, has been conducted with cruelty, and is likely to end in infamy, disgrace, and disappointment. The loyalty of the people of Ireland can no more procure justice at the hands of ministers, than the stubborn spirit of America. Ireland, driven to the last stage of human misery and distress, is left to her wretched fate ; she intreats—she supplicates—but in vain. Without a pretence of offence on her part, she is left to fate, unattended to, and unpitied !

Ireland now will *not* be satisfied *with any thing short of a free trade*. The people of Ireland have reasoned fairly and justly : the colonies, they know, have been offered the most that their own
most

most sanguine expectations could aspire to, a free trade with all the world. America, for her revolt, has had a choice of favours held out to her: This is the reward of rebellion, Ireland for her loyalty, for almost a century, and her forbearance under accumulated oppression, and internal distresses, has been refused the mighty indulgence of importing her own sugars; at all events, without taking any peculiar merit with the British Government, for their loyal, faithful, and peaceable demeanor, they thought they were at least entitled to meet the colonies upon equal terms, and with equal expectations of favour and relief to those which America has spurned at with contempt.

I am induced, from every consideration, which strikes me, to believe, *that whatever measure will serve Ireland essentially, will, and must, in the end, serve England.*

Dec. 6, 1779.

Mr. F O X.

It is the general calamities of the empire, that has made Ireland *poor*; but it is the incapacity and negligence of government, that has rendered her bold and daring. It is therefore incumbent upon parliament, to shew their fullest disapprobation of that indolence and incapacity; and convince Ireland, that they are as ready as themselves to resent and punish the cruel and improper treatment,

ment, which they have received from ministers. Ireland will see by such a conduct, that it is not this country, but its ministers who are blameable, which will, in my opinion, prove the surest means of once more binding both countries in the strongest, and most indissoluble ties of friendship and affection.

Dec. 6, 1779.

Lord NORTH.

Many favours have been granted to Ireland, since I have had the honour of a seat in his Majesty's councils, such as the free importation of beef and butter rendered perpetual; the encouragement given to the Newfoundland cod fishery; and the Southern whale fishery, by bounties granted by the British parliament; the giving leave to export woollen for clothing the troops on the Irish establishment, serving out of that kingdom; the act for encouraging the culture of tobacco and hemp, by permitting its importation into Great Britain; the permission of the export of several enumerated articles to the British sugar colonies, and the coast of Africa, &c. These favours, howsoever liberally given, have not answered, nor proved sufficiently efficacious in removing the difficulties the people of Ireland labour under, *from the restrictions laid upon her trade, nor the distresses that are the consequences of those restrictions.* What parliament may do,

do, is not for me to foretell, nor dictate; but I presume, they will come with the best dispositions towards their brethren in Ireland, *and grant them every thing which does not apparently clash with the essential interests of this kingdom.* Dec. 6, 1779.

Mr. WELBORE ELLIS.

Though a native of Ireland, I rise as a member of this house, to give my opinion, relative to the interest of my constituents, and am happy to find myself in a situation, when I can unite a strict discharge of my duty with my native feelings. *The interests of Great Britain and Ireland are reciprocal and mutual.* Dec. 6, 1779.

Lord GEO. GERMAINE.

Persons of great weight and ability in this kingdom have been consulted on the subject of our differences with Ireland, but their opinions were so contradictory, that no certain information, or what would promise to give satisfaction, could be obtained, sufficient to ground measures upon, and consequently neither Ministry, nor Parliament could decide, *till a proper specification was made by the People of Ireland*, through the only channel on which it could be relied on, or attended to. That specification has been made; the Irish Parliament have come to an unanimous vote, *that nothing short*

of 

of a free trade would answer the object which their present situation necessarily points to. The Irish Parliament has been explicit, and I hope that their desires will be granted.* Dec. 6, 1779.

Lord NORTH.

I mean now to open my three propositions, relative to the allowing Ireland a free export of her wool, woollens, and wool flocks; a free exportation of glass, and of all kinds of glass manufactures; of a freedom of trade with the British plantations; on certain conditions, the basis of which is to be *an equality of taxes and customs, upon an equal and unrestrained trade.*

To demonstrate the matter of right, as well as favour, I beg leave to state the two following propositions: First, *That Ireland has a free and unlimited right to trade with the whole world.* Secondly, That Ireland does not, nor cannot, pretend to claim any right, directly, or co-relatively, with any part of the British colonies, or plantations. Every person in both kingdoms, must instantly give an universal assent to the latter proposition. It is not my wish to enter into a discussion of the former, or debate points merely speculatively: so much,

* Nothing can possibly be more agreeable to this, than the conduct observed by the present minister towards Ireland.

much, however, I will hazard, that mixing the broad claim of a free and unrestrained trade, and qualifying it with the advantage derivable from a connection with Great-Britain, it will not be too much to say, that although the claim is with Ireland, the option of a connexion with this country, and a participation of commercial interest, is *clearly in favor of Great-Britain.*

It is both the interest, and inclination of Ireland, to stand well with England, and on the idea of such a natural and political connexion; they have been rather harshly and impolitically treated: *before the Restoration they enjoyed every commercial advantage and benefit in common with England.*

The commerce, import and export, was held in common by both kingdoms till the reign of Charles the Second: even the act of navigation, the great foundation of our plantation laws, put England and Ireland upon exact terms of equality; nor was it till two years after that the first commercial restriction was laid on Ireland, and that not directly, but by a side wind, and by deductive interpretation. When the act first passed, there was a general governing clause, for giving bonds to perform the conditions of the act, but then the act was amended, in the fifteenth of Charles the Second: whence a conclusion was drawn, that the acts of the two preceding Parliaments, twelfth, C
thirteenth,

thirteenth, and fourteenth of Charles the Second, were thereby repealed, though it was as clearly expressed in these acts, as it was possible for words to convey, that ships built in Ireland, *navigated with the people thereof*, were deemed British, and qualified to trade to and from the British plantations; and that ships built in Ireland, and navigated with his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, *were entitled to the same abatements and privileges, to which importers and exporters of goods in British built ships were entitled by the book of rates.*

Upon an average of the six years, from 1766 to 1772, the export to Ireland was something more than two millions; and in the succeeding six years, ending in 1778, about as much more, one half nearly British manufacture or produce, the other half certificated articles, of which this country was the medium of conveyance; out of the native produce, which was something more than 900,000l. per annum, on the average, only 200,000 were woollens; so that in this light, supposing every thing that any man could wish to conclude from the fact, I must submit to the House, whether it would be sound policy to risque *a million export* of native produce, for a woollen export of 200,000l.

The woollen manufacture must, indeed, a long time continue in a state of infancy; and though cloths have been manufactured sufficient to answer

a con-

a considerable part of the home consumption, yet it can hardly be expected that Ireland will be able to rival Great Britain at the foreign markets, when, after the expence of land carriage, freight, insurance, factorage, &c. she is able to undersell Ireland in her own markets on the very spot, though aided by the advantage of low wages and taxes.

Should the Irish be permitted to enjoy a free export of woollens, I should still be for continuing the bounties paid on the exportation from England of certain species of fabrics of Irish Linens.

The subject demands much consideration, and requires much modelling. It is a matter of infinite delicacy, and will call for a great deal of detail and enquiry, and therefore ought not to be hurried on.

Though under different legislatures, Great-Britain and Ireland *have but one conjugal interest*; and are, in the general sense of the phrase, **BUT ONE PEOPLE**. Even should she (Ireland) be enabled to rival us in foreign markets, in a few commodities of native growth, cheapness of labour, and other incidental circumstances, we should not forget *that Ireland forms a part of the British Empire*.

Dec. 13, 1779.

Lord NORTH.

In one article of Importation, viz. *that of sugar*, Ireland may probably still choose to take them *circuitously* through England, at the low duties, in preference to *directly* importing them at the high duties.

Jan. 24, 1780.

Mr. EDEN.

Will it not be expedient to anticipate the wishes of Ireland, and convince her of our sincere intentions, to give her every security in our power for the permanency of her constitution, and of that trade which she is so anxious to preserve? *

April 18, 1782.

Mr. FOX †.

The disposition of the King's ministers towards Ireland, I believe, is sufficiently understood; and that disposition, which they have expressed, *when out*

* On the 2d of February, 1785, the following Resolutions were *unanimously* agreed to, viz. to allow the exporting, carrying or conveying *corn* out of this realm into Ireland; to admit *foreign hops* there; and to repeal the acts which take off *the drawbacks on British hops*; and for the Irish to be admitted to *the Turkey Company*, &c. No opposition was given to these Resolutions, nor any debate had thereon.

† At this time one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

out of office, I sincerely believe they will now maintain, and will take the speediest and most likely means of giving *compleat satisfaction to the people of Ireland*.

I trust in the candor of the House, for the confidence which they will have in the intentions of his Majesty's Ministers towards Ireland; and that they will believe that they mean and wish most ardently to bring the matter forward in the most speedy manner. I will again assure them that it has always been my political sentiment, that it is unjust and tyrannical to attempt to hold a country in subjection, and to govern against the will and opinion of the people. It has always been my sentiments with regard to America, as well as Ireland, that they cannot, much less ought not to be governed by laws which they reject as unconstitutional. All just Government must consist in the perfect consent, good will, and opinion of the people; it is the best and surest system of Government where harmony prevails; and without it, it is not Government, but *usurpation*.

It is certainly the most consistent with true policy, as well as justice, to bring about a final settlement of the dispute between Great-Britain and Ireland; to state, and precisely to declare, *not for a moment*, but for ever, what is the relative situation of the two countries with respect to each other;

other ; to take in and conclude all the points of difference, and to establish such a *system* of connexion, intimacy, and relation between them, as shall be immediately, and permanently, for the interest of both. To be settled for ages, and not, as has been the conduct of late ministers, fear up the wound for a moment, without completing the cure. When those ministers agreed to the extension of the trade with Ireland, they should have ultimately settled the claim, and fixed the situation. They failed to do this at the proper time, and they ought to answer for it to their country ; *that measures however will be used for accomplishing this desirable end, I may safely assure the house.** I think that deceit is always pernicious, and I wish to speak with as much openness, and information, as the nature of my office can justify.

April 8, 1782.

Mr. SHERIDAN.

The attack made by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Eden) on the new ministers, is scandalously unfair, *as I am convinced that they † have the fairest intentions towards Ireland.*

April 8, 1782.

Mr.

* What *but this*, is Mr. Fox, and his party, now opposing in the House of Commons ?—

† Meaning, no doubt, Lord North, Mr. Fox, &c.

Mr. FOX.

His Majesty is most earnestly desirous of settling the discontents and jealousies that subsist in the minds of his subjects of the kingdom of Ireland. The measures which his Majesty's ministers conceive necessary to be taken in the present instance, and which I am to propose to the House, *will require a great deal of most serious discussion.* The House will perceive, that in the pretensions of the Irish, expressed by the parliament and people, that the matter contains no less than the constitution of the kingdom, that it comprehends not only the commercial rights, and privileges of the kingdom, but also the legislative power and royalty. The most important objects are therefore embraced, and both nations are most materially concerned, in the discussion and settlement of the matter: they are topics, upon which they will see his Majesty cannot decide, without the assistance of his parliament; nor *indeed without the assistance and concurrence of both parliaments.* To come to the business therefore with property, and in a manner that will give effect to their proceedings, they must have full and authentic information; *and both parliaments must take time in their deliberation.**

April 4, 1782.

Hon.

* Every possible information has been sought after by the *present minister*, and time given for the *fullest deliberation* on the subject of Irish affairs.

Hon. Colonel FITZPATRICK.

I have been prevailed upon to accept of the office of the secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the firm persuasion and confidence, that his *Majesty's present ministers* † are sincere in their professions; and that *THEY* are earnestly disposed to make such concessions to Ireland, as shall quiet their jealousies, and give satisfaction to their minds. If I had not had this opinion of the King's Ministers, no circumstance on earth should have induced me to take a situation which at any time I would not have coveted, and which only such opinion and confidence would make me endure. It is the wise policy of this country, to make those concessions, as from the establishment of a firm and friendly relation, founded upon clear, and known constitution, the most happy consequences will be derived to both countries.

April 9, 1782.

Mr. FOX.

Ireland, may perhaps think of fresh grievances, and rise yearly in her demands; it is fit and proper therefore, that something should be now done towards establishing on a firm and solid basis, the future connexion of the two kingdoms; but that is to be proposed by me here in parliament; it will be

† Lord North, Mr. Fox, &c.

be the duty of the Crown to look to that ; *the business may be first begun by his Majesty's servants in Ireland* * ; and if afterwards it shall be necessary to enter into a treaty, commissioners may be sent from the British parliament, or from the Crown, to enter upon it, and to bring the negociation to a happy issue, by giving mutual satisfaction to both countries, and establishing a treaty, which shall be sanctified by the most solemn forms of the constitution of both countries.

I have no doubt, but that in affection, as well as in *interest*, Ireland and Great Britain will be *but one people*. If any man should entertain any gloomy ideas on the subject, let him look at the concluding paragraph of the Irish addresses ; where he will find, that the Irish people and parliament *are filled with the most earnest desires to support England*, to have the same enemy and the same friend ; in a word, *to stand or fall with England*. Let gentlemen look forward to that happy period, when Ireland shall experience the blessings, *that attend freedom of trade and constitution* ; when by the richness and fertility of her soil, the industry of her manufactures, and the encrease of her population, she shall become a powerful country ; *then*

D

may

* Surely Mr. Pitt cannot but be considered as extremely fortunate, in having proceeded in a manner, *so strongly recommended by Mr. FOX*.

may England look for powerful assistance in seamen to man her fleets, and soldiers to fight her battles.

England renouncing all right to legislate for Ireland, the latter will most cordially support the former, as a friend whom she loves ; if this country, on the one hand, is to assume the power of making laws for Ireland, she will only make an enemy instead of a friend ; *for where there is a community of interest**, and a mutual regard for those interests, there the party whose interests are sacrificed becomes as enemy.

Upon the whole, I am convinced that the Irish desire nothing more ardently, *than proper grounds for being most cordially united to England*, and I am sure that they will be attached to this country *even to bigotry.* May 17, 1782.

General B U R G O Y N E.

I cannot prevail upon myself to give a silent vote ; the great revolution that has been effected, with so much calmness and steadiness, does the highest honour to Ireland ; and I cannot express myself better in praise of the characters who have effected it, upon the greatest principles of freedom, than in the words of the Roman author, *eos qui de nibilo nisi libertate cogitant, dignos esse qui Romani fiant.*

* Such a one as the *present* minister proposes to establish.

fiant. Those who know how to think so justly of it, *deserves to be free.* May 17, 1782.

LORD BEUCHAMP.

It is not the mere repeal of the 6 Geo. 1. that will satisfy Ireland, because the repeal will leave the question just as it was before. May 17, 1782.

MR. BURKE.

It is not on such a day as this, when there is not a difference of opinion *, that I will rise to fight the battle of Ireland; *her cause is nearest my heart*, and nothing gave me so much satisfaction, when I was first honoured with a seat in this House, as it might be in my power, *some way or other*, to be of service to the country that gave me birth †; and I have always said to myself, that if such an insignificant member as I am, can ever be so fortunate as to render an essential service to England, and that my sovereign, or parliament, were going to reward me for it, I would say to them—*do something for Ireland—do something for my country, and I am over-rewarded*——I am a friend to my country,

D 2

but

* Respecting the repeal of the 6 of Geo. 1.

† There surely then can be but little doubt of the minister's having Mr. *Burke's* support in carrying his commercial regulations, between Great Britain and Ireland, through the House.

but gentlemen need not be jealous of that; for in being the friend of Ireland, I deem myself of course the friend of England—*their interests are inseparable.*

May 17, 1782.*

Mr. EDEN†.

It was wisdom in the Irish Parliament to chuse an undefined expression upon a subject so complicated and extensive in all its connexions and consequences; the whole consideration is now opened to both kingdoms, *and it is the interest of both to come to an early kind of efficient conclusion* †.

It is a political truth, that happiness and strength should be extended *through the constituent parts of an Empire*, as far as wise and beneficial laws can operate to that effect. It would next be easy to shew, that public happiness and strength are diffused in proportion to the plenty and convenience with which not only the natural wants of a people are

* Mr. Fox on this day moved, that it is the opinion of this committee (the House being then in a committee) that the interests of Great Britain and Ireland *are inseparable*, and that their connexion *ought to be founded on a solid and permanent basis*, to which the committee agreed without a debate.

† See his letter, entitled, A Letter on the Representations of Ireland, respecting a Free Trade.

are supplied, but such adventitious ones as are superinduced by universal habit and industry: when this end is not attained to a certain degree, an Empire may indeed exist, and may encrease in numbers, but it will grow like an unwieldy body, liable to dangers and acute humours*.

Whatever may have been the system of government adopted, or accepted by Ireland, the recent and most interesting fact is, that she now complains of some distresses which she conceives to result from that system. These distresses are possibly no more than have resulted from temporary causes;—from the late rebellion with the Colonies, or from the calamities incident to war; but we know perfectly, that the complaint is founded in real sufferings. The first inference which would arise from this fact, in any mind reasoning kindly towards a part of the Empire, and discreetly in respect of the whole, is, *that the Irish, as fellow subjects, are intitled to every relief compatible with the general interests*†.

If we were to state to an Irish gentleman, the long continued poverty and idleness which have prevailed over so large a proportion of his countrymen, he would probably answer—

“ All this may be true, but the monopolizing spirit of our sister kingdom is the cause of it: ”
“ that

“ that spirit exercising itself upon Ireland in a
 “ very early state of her civilization, nipped her
 “ disposition to industry, and, indeed, made it im-
 “ possible for her to become industrious. In the
 “ very infancy of our country, and whilst we
 “ were contenting ourselves with the exportations
 “ and sale of our cattle, you made an act * to
 “ prohibit those exportations. We next gave our
 “ attention to the increase of our sheep, in order
 “ to export wool, but you forthwith † prohibited
 “ the exportation of wool, and made it subject to
 “ forfeiture. We then endeavoured to employ
 “ and support ourselves by salting provisions for
 “ sale; but you immediately ‡ refused them ad-
 “ mittance into England, in order to encrease the
 “ rents of your lands, though you thereby en-
 “ creased the wages of your labourers. We next
 “ began the woollen manufacture; but it was no
 “ sooner established than destroyed; for you pro-
 “ hibited § the exportation of manufactured wool-
 “ lens to any other place than England and Wales,
 “ and this prohibition alone is reported to have
 “ forced twenty thousand manufacturers out of the
 “ kingdom.

“ The

* 8 Eliz. ch. 3.

† 13 and 14 Car. II. ch. 18.

‡ 18 Car. II. ch. 2.

§ 10 and 11 Will. III. ch. 10.

“ The Navigation Act || had unwittingly, but
 “ kindly, permitted all commodities to be im-
 “ ported into Ireland, upon the same terms as in-
 “ to England: but by an act * passed three years
 “ afterwards, the exportation of any goods from
 “ Ireland into any of the plantations was prohi-
 “ bited: and as if that had not sufficiently crippled
 “ the benefits given by the Navigation Act, we
 “ were soon † afterwards forbid to import any of
 “ the enumerated commodities from the plantations
 “ into Ireland. This restriction too was much
 “ enforced by subsequent acts, and the list of
 “ enumerated goods was much encreased. I say
 “ nothing of your regulations respecting glass,
 “ hops, sail-cloth, &c. ‡ and other inferior barriers
 “ and obstructions to our commerce: we subsisted
 “ under all this, and under a drain also, which
 “ has gradually encreased upon us, by remittances
 “ to our own absentees, English mortgages, Go-
 “ vernment annuitants, and other extra-commer-
 “ cial purposes, to the amount of half a million
 “ sterling annually. And though we retained no
 “ trade but in linen, and provisions, the latter has
 “ been under a three years prohibition, during
 “ which period we lost the principal market for
 “ our own beef, though three-fourths of our peo-
 “ ple

|| 12 Car. II. ch. 10.

* 10 and 11 Will. III. ch. 10.

† 22 Car. II. ch. 18.

‡ 15 Car. II. ch. 7.

“ ple were graziers. Many of us, indeed, carried
 “ on a clandestine trade, and it was essential to
 “ our support ; but that too has been lately check-
 “ ed first by the revolt of the colonies, and now
 “ by the war with France and Spain.

“ Our annual remittances and debts to Great-
 “ Britain now encrease with our distresses : our
 “ subscriptions for loans have been lately filled
 “ from Great-Britain ; our estates, when sold, are
 “ purchased by Englishmen ; our leases, when
 “ they expire, are raised by absentees ; the drain
 “ is become greater than all our means can sup-
 “ ply ; our manufacturers find little demand for
 “ their work ; the farmers sell their produce with
 “ difficulty ; our land rents, indeed, are estimated
 “ at near three millions sterling, but our land-
 “ holders will soon be obliged to reduce them.
 “ We allow that several of your restrictions upon
 “ us, have lately been much softened, or modified,
 “ but the want of an annual profit in our inter-
 “ course with Great-Britain equal to our remittan-
 “ ces still prevails, and is every hour more felt.
 “ By the unfortunate situation of the colonies, we
 “ have lost even our old refuge in emigrations.
 “ After having for many years taken British ma-
 “ nufactures, to the annual amount of *two millions*
 “ sterling, we are for the present reduced to non-
 “ *importation*

“ importation agreements *, as a measure, not of
 “ expediency, but of necessity. It would have
 “ suited the generosity of our feelings, and the
 “ affection which we bear towards you, to have
 “ made our representations in better and more
 “ peaceable times; but you see that our circum-
 “ stances are urgent, and that your recent indul-
 “ gences are insufficient. We desire, therefore A FREE
 “ TRADE, otherwise our distresses must, if possible,
 “ encrease, and the conveniency of our ports will con-
 “ tinue of no more use to us, than a beautiful prospect
 “ to a man shut up in a dungeon†.”

Great-Britain loses whenever Ireland is deprived of
 any reasonable gain—and with respect to the situa-
 tion of the latter for the western navigation, we
 know that it is the interest of a dominion to carry
 on her commerce, from whatever corner she can
 conduct it to the best advantage, and it would be
 thought a gross absurdity in the city of London,
 if because Bristol is so situated as to have an ad-

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vantage

* It ought to have been answered, “ We (*the Irish*) send
 “ more than that to England, with this difference, that the
 “ whole amount of ours, is the produce, or manufacture of
 “ Ireland—the true source of the wealth of a country;
 “ while the half of English exports are of foreign produce.—
 “ Non-importation would have raised in Ireland—we take more
 “ than 1,000,000*l.* of their linens, and they take 3,000,000*l.*
 “ of our woollens—the two staples.”

vantage in the Irish trade, *the former should desire to have the port of the latter shut up.*

In all these reasonings, the commercial and political interests, *are inseparably blended.* When the liberty of commerce *is unequally enjoyed*, one part of an empire may be in danger of becoming a burden to the other. An increase of support in and of the common exertions, might, in course of time, result to Ireland from the advancement of her trade, and from the produce of duties, analogous to those of Great-Britain.

It is sometimes found, that a liberty to export manufactures, increases the produce of raw materials beyond the demand of the particular manufacture; and from the experience of the linen trade, it might be doubted whether less woollen yarn would be exported to Great-Britain by Ireland, if the export of manufactured woollens were less restrained; in which case, the smuggling of raw wool to the Continent of Europe might be checked*.

We are not, however, to proceed with that short-sighted wisdom, which may enable us to shun the mere difficulty of a day; nor to act upon the spur of a moment†.

The Irish, though at all times, she has had full liberty to manufacture goods for her own consumption,

* Page 160.

† Page 163.

tion, the consumers have hitherto found it easier to purchase from England many articles, both of luxury and convenience, than to make them at home.

Amidst the difficulties which time, and the fostering attention of this country, alone can enable Ireland to overcome, it deserves remark, that she has little coal, is ill provided with wood, and is nearly without inland navigations. In short, the constitution and establishment of a flourishing empire, imply a well regulated order throughout the nation, a steady and effective police, habits of docility and industry, skill in manufactures, and large capitals in trade; all which can be the result only of a continued and gradual progress, aided by a combination of other favouring circumstances*.

Colonel FITZPATRICK†.

I am anxious that satisfaction should be given to the Irish nation, and that they should learn that this country is well disposed *to give every necessary satisfaction*. This is particularly to be wished, because pains have been taken to spread ideas, that what has been done is not sufficient for the security of Ireland, and surmises have been thrown out

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against

* Page 166.

† Colonel Fitzpatrick begged leave to call the attention of Government to the circumstance, which had given some blame to the people of Ireland, *the decision of an Irish cause in the Court of King's Bench in England*.

against the friends of order and reason, *who were convinced of the rectitude of the intentions of Britain.*

Dec. 19, 1782.

Mr. F O X.

I take the first moment to declare, that the intentions of those Ministers who sent the repeal of the Declaratory Act, *were thereby to make a complete, absolute, and perpetual surrender of the British legislature and judicial supremacy over Ireland.* THIS was the intention of Government*; and it is clear to the conviction, both of Ministers and of the Gentlemen of Ireland, who interested themselves in the business, that the manner in which this is done, is the best possible way, and the least liable to exception.

Dec. 19, 1782.

Lord B E A U C H A M P.

I have always understood it to be the privilege of a Member of Parliament, that when he has any particular business in the House, it was not to be taken out of his hands *by another*†. This is a privilege I would never resign; a friend to *both* kingdoms,

* No one will surely dispute Mr. Fox's authority.

† This was occasioned by Mr. William Grenville giving notice, that he should move for a call of the House, *at an earlier day* than the 22d of January (the day on which Lord Beauchamp moved the Call) when a motion would be made relative to Ireland.

kingdoms, my only object is to secure *a lasting harmony* between Great Britain and Ireland; and if I should be able to root out every remains of jealousy, *my great object will be accomplished, and I shall sit down the happiest of men!*

Mr. E D E N.

A dissatisfaction has somehow since arisen, but I still continue to think, that it ought not to have arisen, for it shewed beyond a possible doubt*, not merely the good faith, but the industrious anxiety of England, *to gratify Ireland in the point of free legislation.*

I feel myself ever disposed to think, and to speak of Ireland with gratitude, with affection, and with respect; but I do not think her at this hour an object of fear to any nation under the Sun; she neither has, nor will have her due importance in the great scale of the globe, till she can be induced to think herself secure *in quitting politics, and pursuing commerce; it is my object and wish to forward for her that happy and important moment.*

Jan. 22, 1783.

Mr. F O X.

By the actual repeal of the 6 Geo. I. Great Britain certainly, *and to all intents and purposes, relinquished every shadow of jurisdiction, and supremacy.*

Jan. 22, 1783.

* Mr. Fox's proposition on the 17th of May.

Mr. E D E N.

I relied on a treaty being opened † between the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, for the purposes of arranging not only the points already specified, but all the great questions involved in the future events of peace and war, foreign alliances, commercial treaties, limitation of armies, building and support of navies. Proportionable supplies, *with the whole immense detail under each of those heads.* I shall then, *and not till then,* think that the connection is established; and when the two kingdoms have thus realized and secured one constitution, one commerce, one King, one friend, one enemy, and one fate, it will become impossible for any man, *to wish the prosperity of the one country more ardently, or more earnestly, than the prosperity of the other.*

Jan. 22, 1783.

† When I voted for the address of the 17th of May last.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Earl of HILLSBOROUGH.

I WAS called by my Sovereign, from a private situation, to assist in his councils. I had formed my opinion, as an object of leading consequence, respecting the state of Ireland. I imparted my thoughts, my motives, and intended conduct, to those with whom I am to act; *and upon the idea of a full confirmation, and support of the Crown and its servants, I consented to come into office.*

I wish not to be understood, as dictating any measures, or pledging myself for the result; what I mean is merely this, that such and such were my opinions; that they were approved of, and that I would wait with anxious suspense, and cheerfully abide the event, and in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, submit to the sense of Parliament; but if, on the other hand, as suggested as a general charge against Government, that the conditions on which I came into place, should be
violated,

violated, or departed from, or that a perfect good faith should not be preserved, the same motives which induced me to accept of the seals, a view to serve my country, *to cause relief to be given to Ireland*, and advance the interest and prosperity of every part of the British Empire, would point out to me the propriety of retiring again into a private station; *when the end for which I left it**, shall be found no longer attainable, or in other words, *when it will not be in my power to secure my country.*

Nov. 25, 1779†.

Earl

* To procure, in conjunction with the rest of the Ministers of the Crown, such relief for Ireland, as she might be entitled to expect from Great Britain.

† On the 11th May, 1779, the *late Marquis of Rockingham* moved an immediate consideration of the distressed, and impoverished state of the kingdom of Ireland, and such effectual measures as should promote *the common strength, wealth, and commerce of his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain and Ireland.*—After describing the *private* as well as *public* distresses of Ireland, in the most feeling language, the noble Marquis proceeded to contrast the deserts of the Irish nation, whose loyalty kept pace with the extent and magnitude of the calamities they felt. He instanced, in particular, their friendly and affectionate behaviour since the commencement of the American war; the zeal and fidelity of that kingdom, in the time of the two last Scotch rebellions; the uncommon efforts she made during the late war, and her uniform loyalty, and attachment, to this country, in every trying exigency, when engaged in a foreign war.

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He said, he hoped, the importance of the subject would strike every noble Lord with the propriety, nay, the absolute necessity of his motion, that the House would treat it *with that temper* coolness, and moderation* which it so apparently merited, and attend to it as a matter, in which every man in the nation was most deeply interested. He trusted, that their Lordships would not be led away by any *partial ideas or narrow distinctions of local benefit or advantage**, but meet it fairly as a question of State, in which both kingdoms had an equal interest. He would be extremely sorry, this, or that town, or district, *that Manchester, or Glasgow, or any other place, would supercede or render of non-effect the wisdom of their Lordships' deliberations.* He wished farther, that on the present occasion, *all party or personal considerations would give way to the general good†*, and that as they all meant *the same thing*, the interests of both kingdoms, their Lordships' would not entertain a second opinion on the subject. It was a great object, and should neither be lost, abandoned, or evaded; it had for some years been unfortunately too much neglected, but matters were at length arrived just at that critical state, which would render it not only unwise and impolitic to lose a moment, but would afford an instance of obstinacy and want of feeling, *little short of political insanity.*

* The noble Marquis appears to be well aware of *the partial ideas, and narrow distinctions, of local benefit, or advantage*, that would probably be stirred up against the adjusting such a commercial intercourse, as might be thought for the *reciprocal* benefit of both countries; and no doubt, the House of Lords will be sufficiently guarded against any thing of the kind, on the present occasion.

† It is to be hoped that Mr. Fox, and his friends, will bear in mind the salutary advice and wholesome admonition of the noble Marquis, whose virtues they so justly revered, and whose memory they hold so dear, and not suffer the real interest of Great-Britain and Ireland to give way to *party or personal considerations.*

Earl of HILSBOROUGH.

Previous to my acceptance of the seals, as Secretary of State, I desired to know the intention of his Majesty's Ministers (*Lord North, &c.*) and the opinion of his Council, relative to future measures, respecting Ireland; and received every assurance from them, that Government was thoroughly disposed to co-operate with Parliament, in giving to that kingdom, *such an extension of trade as would put her on a footing with Great-Britain on the scale of commerce* *.

Dec. 1, 1779†.

* As the *memory* of Lord North, and his friends, are so apt to fail them, it is rather a *lucky* circumstance for them, that it can be refreshed by so respectable an authority.

† The late Marquis of Rockingham was so very sensible of the necessity there was for doing something for effectually relieving the distresses of Ireland, and had the object so much at heart, that in the course of the debate on the 11th of May, 1779, he repeated with some warmth, that Ireland had been cruelly and injuriously treated, and that it would present a mixture of folly and ingratitude, which nothing but the dullest obstinacy and ignorance could explain, if we refuse to lighten *those intolerable burthens* which the restriction of our trade laws laid upon that *loyal, affectionate, and enduring people*. The Duke of Beaufort, though he possessed a considerable property in Ireland, said he should cheerfully assist in any measure, for giving the Irish that species of relief which their situation demanded. Lord Townshend, in expressions of the warmest affections for the people of Ireland, pleaded

Earl GOWER.

I had the good fortune to unite the House last Session, upon the terms of the Address to the Throne *. I was in hopes that something *effectual*

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for

pleaded their distresses and deserts in very forcible language; and said, he should be wanting in the feelings which gratitude ought ever to inspire, if he did not take the present opportunity of testifying his regard for them, and his earnestness to procure them every degree of redress and indulgence, which their melancholy situation demanded, which justice dictated, and generosity and national gratitude rendered a positive duty on the part of a great nation. He should, in point of union and national strength, *ever consider England and Ireland as one country, and the people of each equally bound and connected by the same object, the prosperity of the whole.* The Duke of Richmond also in a very able speech, endeavoured to show, that all local distinction were the creatures of prejudice and selfishness. He said, that Ireland and England *were in fact the same nation and people*; that any distinction made in favour of the latter, was a piece of injustice to the former. A great, loyal, and a brave people, were not to be ruined, beggared, or oppressed, because Manchester thought *this, or this, or that country were alarmed.* All these petty motives must cease to operate, nor be permitted to influence our public Councils, which ought never to lose sight of justice and sound policy. He was for an union; but not an union of Legislature, *but an union of hearts, hands, of affections, and interests.*

* The Address was as follows:—"That this House take into consideration the distressed and impoverished state of the kingdom of Ireland, and being of opinion, that it is consonant to justice

"and

for the relief of Ireland would have arisen *from the unanimous concurrence of their Lordships* in the amendment I then had the honour to propose †. If however, nothing has been done, for the relief of that country, which I am pretty sure is the case, I assure the House, that I have done every thing in my power to keep my word, which I formerly pledged to the House, and am ready to acknowledge,

“ and true policy to remove the causes of discontent by a redress
 “ of grievances, and, in order to demonstrate the sense which the
 “ House entertains of the merits of that loyal and well deserving
 “ nation, this House doth think it highly expedient, that this im-
 “ portant business should be no longer neglected, and that an hum-
 “ ble Address be presented to his Majesty, That his Majesty would
 “ be graciously pleased to take the matter into his most serious
 “ consideration, and direct his Minister to prepare, and lay before
 “ Parliament such particulars relative to the trade and manufac-
 “ tures of Ireland, as may enable the national wisdom to pursue
 “ effectual measures for promoting the common strength, wealth,
 “ and commerce, of his Majesty’s subjects in both kingdoms.”

† The following is the *amended* address which was carried *nem. con.* “ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that
 “ he will be pleased to take into his gracious consideration, the
 “ distressed and impoverished state of the loyal and well-deserving
 “ people of Ireland, and to direct an account to be laid before
 “ Parliament of such particulars relative to the trade and manu-
 “ factures of Ireland, as may enable the national wisdom to pur-
 “ sue methods for promoting the common strength, wealth, and
 “ commerce, of his Majesty’s subjects in both kingdoms.”

knowledge, but I must add, in my own justification, that my efforts have proved totally unfruitful.

May 11, 1779*.

Earl of CARLISLE.

I rise to express my entire approbation of the motion †, and to bear my testimony to the zeal

* His Lordship added, that he had, for some years, presided at the Council Table, and had seen such things pass there, that no man of honour and conscience, could any longer sit there. The situation of Great Britain and Ireland required *sincerity and activity of Council*. There is no doubt as to the cause of the noble Earl's disgust.—The ministers (*Lord North, &c.*) had certainly pledged themselves to do something *effectual for the Relief of Ireland*, and none was given.

† “First, That it is the opinion of this House, that the Act of 6th Geo. I. intitled, an Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, ought to be repealed. Second, That it is the opinion of this House, That it is indispensable to the interest and happiness of both countries, that the connection between them should be established by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent footing, and that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased, to take such measures as his Majesty in his royal wisdom shall think most conducive to that important end.” Both motions were agreed to without a division. Both the Resolutions were moved by the Earl of Shelburne, and supported by the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Camden, Duke of Leinster, Duke of Chandos, and Duke of Richmond.

and

and loyalty of the Irish, particularly of the honourable conduct of the Volunteers, and the liberal offers made of their service, when Ireland was threatened with an attack. Had I been more persuaded than I am, that Ireland had ever relinquished its right of free legislation, which I know they neither have nor can give up, I should still have thought it wise to accede to their claim; because I know, that from the gratitude and affection of the country, and the wisdom of Parliament, much more advantage would arise to Great Britain, than by maintaining any offensive and ill-founded pretensions to a controul over them.

May 17, 1782.

Earl of HILSBOROUGH.

I hope, and believe, ministers are sincere in their good intentions towards Ireland. I am persuaded, they have no other object with regard to this country, and to that, but to promote the interest of both; but persons at a distance, *who are not so well convinced of their good intention towards Ireland**, may construe every little delay into matter

* It is now three years since the noble Lord was promised by Lord North, &c. that relief should be given to Ireland, and though none has ever been rendered, yet the noble Lord has still so much faith in their assurances, *as to believe them sincere in their intentions towards*

matter of suspicion and alarm; and, therefore, I conceive, *I best show myself the friend of Government, by cautioning them of their danger.*

June 3, 1783.

Duke of PORTLAND.

I always have been, and always shall be ready, to do every thing in my power to cement the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, on terms of mutual affection and mutual interest.

April 24, 1783.†

towards Ireland, nay, for his Lordship's part, he is persuaded of it, whatever persons may think, who are at a distance, and may construe every little delay into matter of suspicion and alarm.—What will the noble Lord think then, should this same Lord North be found to oppose the commercial intercourse now establishing between Great Britain and Ireland?

† On the second reading of the Irish Judicature Bill.

APPENDIX.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
 2. second of these is the fact that the
 3. third of these is the fact that the
 4. fourth of these is the fact that the
 5. fifth of these is the fact that the
 6. sixth of these is the fact that the
 7. seventh of these is the fact that the
 8. eighth of these is the fact that the
 9. ninth of these is the fact that the
 10. tenth of these is the fact that the

REPORT

...of mutual affection and mutual interest.

April 24 1783

...and I have been thinking about it
...of me at a distance, and may con-
...the matter of justice and alarm—What
...should this time Lord Bunsby do
...now establishing be-

A P P E N D I X.

THE COMMERCIAL RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT, IN THEIR PRESENT SESSION, VINDICATED.

*Abstract of a Letter from a Member of the British House of
Commons, written soon after the late General Election, to
a Member of the Irish House.*

S I R,

May, 1784.

WHEN Ireland was dependent on Great Britain, it was
wished by several friends of both Countries to render dependence
beneficial to her. Two bills were therefore brought into the Bri-
tish Parliament, one allowing to Ireland freedom of Exportation
to our Colonies and Settlements, the other a like Freedom of Im-
portation from thence, both denied to all Foreign Independent
countries.

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These

These were meant as experiments, upon a narrow scale, which, if found advantageous to Ireland without prejudicing Britain, might and ought to be extended further; were it for no other purpose than to preserve Irish dependence by the surest and only justifiable means.

The first Bill passed, but absurdly mutilated; and the little that remained of it was rendered useless by a still more absurd suppression of the second Bill, as an export-trade cannot subsist where imports are prohibited.

When Ireland became independent, with an unrestrained freedom of trade to all countries except Great Britain, I wished her friendship should be preserved by opening the Ports of Great Britain upon the same terms that open those of Ireland to Her, convinced as I then was and still am that the comparative magnitude of British Capitals, lowness of interest and superiority of skill, with all their necessary consequences, would, under an equality of duties, secure a continuance of the same advantages to Great Britain which she before invidiously possessed under an inequality which operated as a total Prohibition on her side of almost all manufactures except Linen, while she was treated in Ireland *literally*, as the most favoured Nation in the scale of duties.

I am aware of the objection, that when Ireland becomes rich, those advantages will lessen with her increase and at length totally cease. But wealth, earned and employed in trade, will ever in a progressive state maintain at least the superiority it had gained: improvements of old manufactures and discoveries of new will more frequently appear, as they now do at Manchester, Birmingham, &c. &c. and Dublin growing *richer* in her progressive state, but advancing by slower paces, will become a better customer than *poor* Dublin ever was.

But, be this as it may, independent Ireland will never be satisfied under the present inequality of duties. It is a badge of slavery which she never will patiently bear, and the British Parliament alone has the means of removing it, by lowering the duties there to the Irish standard. The attempt now meditating in Ireland to increase them there in the article of woollens, supported by the most false assertions and most absurd arguments, would, if it could succeed, certainly be fatal to Ireland, as it would soon be retaliated by England on linens and other articles, while multiplied restraints would at length end in a total prohibition of trade in both countries, such as is only known in a state of war; yet England even now is the best customer Ireland has, giving a longer

longer credit than any other country can for what she sends, and paying quicker remittances for what she receives: Two returns in a year upon the same capital, which double its profits, make one thousand pounds virtually as much as two, where returns are made but once in the same space of time.

You have here the thoughts of an old infirm man, who has bid farewell to all politics, English and Irish: and who, though elected into this Parliament, is determined to vacate his seat; yet, if you think as I do upon this subject, and believe that the expedient will satisfy Ireland, I will defer the execution of my unalterable purpose, until I shall have had an early opportunity of throwing myself and my opinions upon the House of Commons, as I have often done without hazard to the popularity of Ministers, with whom I was connected, if my opinion were not relished; and willing to give them all the merit if they were approved. In this spirit I now write to you and have the honour to be, &c. &c.

PURPORT OF THE ANSWER

RECEIVED TO THE

A B O V E L E T T E R.

NOTHING but protecting duties, heavier upon Merchandise imported from Great Britain than upon Irish Merchandise imported there, will satisfy Ireland."

WHILE a system of duties seemed to be thus insisted upon by Ireland, not equalized by the value of similar articles in commerce, as is the universal rule of Tariffs between all Independent States: while in that system allowances were claimed for the infe-

rior abilities of Ireland to supply Great Britain to purchase from her the same articles at the same rates, impossible to be proportioned so as to form a fair standard of Trade; and while these arbitrary conditions were to be imposed by threats and violence proceeding to avert acts of cruel Barbarism, no friend of both countries would insult Great Britain by offering propositions to her Parliament, which if accepted there, would be reprobated and spurned by the Irish Parliament, the whole Nation applauding their conduct.

Thus circumstanced I retire in despair, and if the Ministers of Great Britain had then introduced any accommodating propositions here, in the first instance, they, instead of asserting the dignity of their country by insisting upon that precedence, would have tarnished and debased it: Those who are in the wrong should first make concessions; or if, as happily was the fact in Ireland, faction, ignorance and frenzy, did not speak the sentiments of the people, it behoved the honour and fidelity of their representatives to declare the difference, by offering a plan to the sister Kingdom supported, and only supported by Equality, Justice and mutual Interest.

But if, having thus acted, the British Parliament should again be influenced, as it was in the two Bills already mentioned, by the mistaken interest of narrow-minded men against one common universal interest the Irish Parliament, though without a prospect of Ireland ever becoming the Emporium of trade, as was hyperbolically expressed in a late debate, would be the unrivall'd possessor of firmness, liberality, reason and justice.

Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.

That an opposition here to the Resolutions of the Irish Parliament proceeds from false conceptions, we shall now endeavour to prove by stating those objections which have reached our knowledge; and giving the answers which have occurred to us.

OBJECTION I. If Ireland be permitted to export Sugars to Great Britain, she will smuggle in for that purpose Foreign Sugars purchased at a lower price; and by these means undersell British Sugars at their own home market.

ANSWER. The Revenue of Ireland would then suffer doubly. First, by being defrauded of the duty payable upon imported Muscavado Sugars, and again by paying upon their exportation a draw-

a drawback of duties never received, or a premium when refined, more than an equivalent for those duties. The Parliament and Government of Ireland will therefore be most importantly interested in preventing that practice.

Secondly, The Irish consumption of Sugars is considerable, and is chiefly, if not intirely, of Sugars brought from Great Britain. Why then is not that consumption now entirely supplied with smuggled Sugars? these would find a demand to a considerable amount, although the British Ports were, as they still are, shut to Irish exportation.

OBJECTION II. French, Dutch, Danish, &c. Sugars, will be entered as our Plantation Sugars, and, though they pay the same duties, they will be bought cheaper, and so circumstanced will be exported to Britain entitled to a drawback there of the duties paid, or to a premium, as the case shall happen upon re-exportation.

ANSWER. The Irish Revenue will be no gainer by this traffic, and therefore the Government will have no interest in conniving at it. Nor is the difference of price such as to tempt the fraudulent Merchant to encounter the risk of being discovered.

OBJECTION III. Irish Merchants would be the sole importers of Sugars into Ireland directly from the British Plantations.

ANSWER. This objection is the reverse of the foregoing, but the second answer is applicable to it: The Irish are at liberty now to import Sugars directly, to the full amount of Irish consumption, yet small have been the quantities so imported, since the freedom of a direct importation has been allowed to Ireland.

OBJECTION IV. British Merchants will transport themselves and their capitals into Ireland.

ANSWER. Why is not this supposition verified by some instances now to be produced? They certainly will not send their capitals, and stay themselves behind, trusting to the management of others. But inconvenient and disagreeable as this removal would be to themselves and their families, they would find it more difficult to procure sugar-bakers to remove, and persuade all the subordinate manufactures to accompany them. Yet should this be effected, they cannot transport their sugar-houses, nor the materials of which they are built. They must be sold here at the price of rubbish; for the buildings cannot be converted to new uses; and

and the same is true of the utensils. All these must again be provided in Ireland, when the adventurers arrive there, where it will be found, that coals, and many other articles necessary to the refining of Sugars, are dearer than in England.

But these are far from being all the disadvantages to be encountered in Ireland: a credit of three years, usually given to the planter by the merchant his creditor, must still be continued, while the sugar-baker and refiner will require from the merchant a longer respite of payment than is allowed in England, where the shop-keeper, their customer, is sooner and more punctually paid by the customer. Quick returns of small profits, the life of trade, are only to be found in wealthy countries; and men so enriched, will hardly emigrate into poor countries, to meet with delay and disappointments, not to be compensated by cheapness of manual labour, or commodiousness of situation.

But though mere manual labour, such as is employed in delving and ditching, which require no skill, may be hired cheaper from a wretch in poverty and rags, it is much dearer and less valuable in every work of art, shortened in numberless instances by engines enabling one man to do more than many. A few years since, there was not a single crane on the Quay of Cork.

The history of commerce rarely produces an instance of a wealthy trader going into a poor country to increase his wealth: but if cheapness of manual labour necessarily invited large capitals, no poor country would long continue poor; nor indeed any rich country long continue rich, mutually changing and re-changing conditions, as the price of such labour sunk or rose. But though poverty emigrates, or starves, wealth remains fixt to that soil where it grew; and flourishes in proportion as it spreads its roots deeper and wider there.—Transplant an oak and it perishes*.

What has been said of cheap labour, is equally true of commodious situation. The richest mercantile towns in England have the worst harbours: Milford scarcely contains a vessel in its excellent haven, except passing to or from some other port, while

* England undersells Ireland at her own Markets with Cloth made of Irish Woollen Yarn, for which a duty is paid in Ireland upon exportation; and the difference of price is greater in proportion to the fineness of the Fabrick.

the dry mud of Bristol is crouded with ships detained there by many contrary winds, and exposed to fire from the houses but a few yards distant, after having made their way through a most perilous channel to the merchants's warehouses. Were those merchants asked, why they do not remove to Milford Haven? and were the same question proposed to sugar-bakers, glass-men, copper manufacturers, &c. &c. &c. their answer would be, a smile of contempt. Yet predictions much more impossible of emigrations to Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, are gravely made, and anxiously listened to.

But if all we have said were false, and Cork were to rival Bristol, while London would be rivalled by Dublin in West Indian imports, though the British merchant would then have a just cause for sorrow and opposition, the West India planters should rejoice in a view of two markets instead of being confined to one.

This leads us to another objection.

OBJECTION V. The Planter indebted to his factor in Britain, as most Planters confessedly are, would change hands and defraud his creditor by consignments into Ireland.

ANSWER. This expedient though troublesome and expensive to the Creditor, would not leave him without a remedy, as the Planter's property in the West Indies would be subject to his demand. It is reported that one or two attempts of this nature were made in England, but defeated.

Nor has it, I believe, been heard that such base policy was, in any instance, practised in supplying the consumption of Ireland ever since a direct importation has been allowed there.

The planters therefore need not be solicitous to refute so undeserved a calumny, by uniting with the British Merchants. Nor is such solicitude the real cause of an union clearly accounted for without admitting an infamous imputation upon any number of worthy, but generous men: most Planters are indebted to their Factors, and by consequence are under their power and influence.

There are however many planters in opulent circumstances, free from all restraint, who, though the advertising-merchants would blend them in one general description, will, no doubt, separate and distinguish themselves from their enthralled brethren.

But,

But, if what we have advanced upon this subject be well founded, the merchant requires no sacrifice from the planters of their interest to his; his fears are as vain as those of a North British member of Parliament were, when he foretold in a speech against the importation of Irish live cattle into Britain, that, if it was permitted, an Ox would be as rare an animal in our fields as a Lion.

OBJECTION VI. When the ports of Great Britain shall be always open to the importation of grain and flour from Ireland, let the price be ever so low; immense quantities will be poured in from thence, detrimental to the British landlord and tenant.

ANSWER. The dry climate of South Britain is universally more favourable to harvests, than that of rainy Ireland, and the same is true of most parts of North Britain. Potatoes are therefore the general food of Ireland. Yet a great proportion of the comparatively small quantity of grain and flour, consumed there, was supplied by England, until a bounty was granted in Ireland upon exportation; and we believe that the balance, though not so great, is still in favour of England.

Should there be, in an unusual change of seasons, a scarcity here when there is an abundance in Ireland, a supply from thence will be more to our advantage, than from any other country, and Irish cheapness will then be a common blessing to the sister kingdoms.

But should there be a superfluity in both, Britain will preferably consume her own grain and flour free from freight and hazard, which she must pay for; nor will Ireland send her produce to an over-stocked market, while the World is open to her.

It is true that Scotland, in particular, is supplied with Irish oats and meal, in great quantities for her own consumption. But it is also true that Scotch Merchants, and others in parts of South Britain, purchase more than is wanted for that purpose, immediately after harvest, when the miserable Irish tenant is obliged to thresh out his corn, for payment of rent in November to a distressed and relentless landlord. From hence it often happens that Irish corn is exported at a much lower price, sometimes scarcely exceeding one half of what it afterwards bears, when brought back to drained and starving Ireland.

But admitting that North Britain, chiefly concerned in this question, should sometimes so abound with oats of her own growth,

growth, as to render a prohibition of importation advantageous, which seldom happens even for a short time, she will at all other times be a gainer, by cheapness in Ireland.

Having vindicated, we hope, sufficiently the Resolutions of the Irish Parliament, we shall now take notice of an *objection* made by some of its members *to the 10th Article*, charged with granting a *tribute* annually payable to Britain, as if a small contribution to the support of a Maritime Force, necessary to the common protection of both countries, deserved a degrading appellation; more especially as the application of that supply to any specifick naval service, is to be solely directed by the Irish Parliament, although it is to arise out of an hereditary revenue, settled more than a century past by an Irish Parliament upon the King of England and Ireland.

The eventual supply, for such it only is, now to be granted, will depend for its existence and quantity upon an increase of Irish trade, necessarily requiring a larger establishment of force and expence. If there be no increase, there will be no supply, and if there be an increase, the supply will rise only in proportion to it.

When assistance has been purchased by Great Britain, as it has been almost in every war, from allies unconnected with her by any common interest, and without any of the qualifying circumstances, which attend what those, whom we have alluded to, call a tribute, however those subsidised powers may have been blamed for submitting to such terms, Great Britain has been often served but never dishonoured by becoming thus tributary to many a petty Prince. Yet in this sense only would Ireland be tributary to Great Britain, for her assistance by paying an annual sum, more properly termed a subsidy, than a tribute.

Should the adjustment now proposed by the Parliament of Ireland be rejected here, God grant that without any degree of prescience exceeding what is derived from experience and a slight knowledge of History, we shall not be better warranted than the abovementioned North British Member was in his prediction, when we foretel that the King of Great Britain and Ireland, while he retains both characters, giving his assent to the bills of each Parliament, will not be able to exercise that function of Royal legislative power consistently with the duty of a common Father to all his subjects.

We shall therefore conclude by hoping that whatever opposition may be consistently given by those who either voted against the two bills mentioned in the foregoing abstract, or did not vote at all, none who joined in their support upon the principle that Great Britain and Ireland should retain all their respective natural or acquired advantages, but subject to the same duties upon importation and upon exportation to Foreign Markets, will oppose a further enlargement of the trade of Ireland grounded upon the same principles, certain as it is that the acquired advantages of Great Britain incomparably exceed the superiority of those natural to Ireland. Nay we are far from conceding any superiority to Ireland in the sum total of gifts gratuitously bestowed by Providence without Labour and Industry.

F I N I S.